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591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

• 59% Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
592 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

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among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

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brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village,

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as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

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that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of cooperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

439 Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
461 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In contrast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-